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ABSTRACT

This report contains ten papers dealing with population growth that focus attention on the quality of life in human settlements and the values and practical policies to be sought. Some of the papers were prepared for the Habitat Conference convened in Vancouver by world governments in June 1976. The first paper discusses world action plans for dealing with population and the need for rural development. The second paper, focusing on the U.S. concern for human settlements, points out the need for a high level of citizen participation in meeting population problems. The third paper stresses the difference between the growth of cities in the developed world in the last century, caused primarily by the presence of industrial jobs, and the growth of cities in developing countries today, caused primarily by the population explosion. In other papers authors discuss the need to help people help themselves; the inability of the local government of Lagos, Nigeria, to keep up with the needs of its increasing population; the active role that cities can play in their own development; community-based services; new government policies in Mexico regarding urban housing, rural development, and responsible parenthood; and the U.S. experience with urbanization and community development following World War II. (Author/RM)

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DRAPER WORLD POPULATION FUND REPORT

NO. 2
SPRING
1976

The Problems of Human Settlements

William H. Draper, Jr.
1894-1974

THE DRAPER WORLD POPULATION FUND

The Draper World Population Fund was established in honor of the late William H. Draper, Jr. to encourage and expand those activities which promise the greatest impact in slowing world population growth. Contributions to the Fund go to the two private organizations with which Draper worked most closely – the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) and the Population Crisis Committee (PCC).

The goal of the Draper World Population Fund is to raise more than ten million dollars over the next five years. Two earlier Funds established by Draper – the Victor Fund in 1968, and the Victor-Bostrom Fund in 1969 – together contributed more than ten million dollars to the IPPF. The new Draper Fund advances and gives continuity to Draper's pioneering efforts. It permits concerned individuals, corporations and foundations to join in making a significant contribution to a cause of major international importance. During 1975, $1.4 million was raised by this means.

Although in the long run governments must mobilize the resources needed to solve national population problems, IPPF through its worldwide network of member organizations represents the vital and constructive force of the private sector in influencing how soon and how soundly governments move. In both IPPF and PCC, volunteers and professionals work together to demonstrate new approaches and to build public support for the programs that are needed. As William H. Draper, Jr. often pointed out, contributions to such organizations can "do more good, dollar for dollar, than any similar amount employed in any other way."

Robin C. Duke

Mrs. Angier Biddle Duke

William S. Gaud

William S. Gaud
Co-Chairmen
Draper World Population Fund

The Draper World Population Fund Report

1835 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
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"A global inquiry into man's future . . ."

Habitat: The Problems of Human Settlements

by

Enrique Penalosa

Secretary General

United Nations Conference on Human Settlements

The Habitat Conference, which follows the United Nations conferences on the Environment, Population, Food, and Women focused attention on the quality of life in human settlements and the values and practical policies to be sought.

Two historic developments are converging today to create a world crisis in human settlements: unprecedented population growth and massive migration from rural to urban areas.

To put the problem of global population growth in perspective: it took from the beginning of time to the year 1830 for world population to reach one billion; it took another hundred years to add the second billion; just 30 more to add the third billion; and only 15 more years to reach the 4 billion that are on the earth today. This phenomenal increase in numbers reflects an explosive increase in the exponential rate of population growth to the present unprecedented rate of nearly 2 percent for the world, and nearly 2.5 percent for the developing countries. The United Nations projects that the world population could reach between a low of 5.8 billion and a high of 6.7 billion by the end of this century.

Urban population growth is even more explosive. In 1800, the urban population of the world was around 25 million, or equal to the combined population of the two largest cities today—Tokyo and New York. So rapid is the acceleration in urban numbers that the city population in 2000 could approach today's world population. In 2000, the United Nations estimates two-thirds of the world's population will be living in urban areas, compared with less than one-third in 1950.

Ours has been the most revolutionary century in human history, one whose promise was to alleviate and even eliminate human want. But today, despite this promise, the majority of the world's people are no better off than before. Indeed, in absolute numbers, there are more people ill-housed, malnourished, and illiterate than ever before. These deprived peoples are increasingly found in wretchedly overcrowded and polluted cities, which have rightly been called "Miseropoli". At the same time, stagnation and even worse poverty characterizes most rural areas, causing the massive urban migration of the past decades.

To deal with these critical and urgent problems, the governments of the world have come together in Vancouver for Habitat, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, in June, 1976. This Conference was a global inquiry into man's future. For at issue is the basic fabric of human relations, the same basic issue upon which a

series of United Nations conferences have been held in the past few years on the environment, on population growth, on food supply, and on women's rights. The fact that human settlements and these other crucial issues are intimately interwoven was recognized at each Conference.

World Action Plans

The Action Plan for the Human Environment, agreed to by 113 countries participating in the Environment Conference in Stockholm, called for the Habitat Conference, and recommended that "special attention shall be given to population concerns as they relate to the environment, and more particularly, to the environment of human settlements."

The World Population Plan of Action, agreed to by 136 countries represented at the World Population Conference in Bucharest, recommended that the Habitat Conference "take into consideration in its program of work the conclusions of the World Population Conference especially with regard to the possible effects of increasing population on housing and sanitary facilities, human health factors, the environment and eco-systems."

Resolutions on the world food crisis, agreed to by 130 governments participating in the World Food Conference in Rome, urged governments and international and bilateral agencies "to cooperate in accelerating the planning and implementation of integrated rural development programmes and to devote greatly expanded resources to these activities."

The Plan of Action agreed to by 133 countries at the World Conference for International Women's Year in Mexico City, recommended that "legislative and other measures should be taken to guarantee that the views and needs of women are taken into account in the planning and design of urban and housing development as well as human settlements."

The Habitat Conference focused on these interrelated concerns, for it is in human settlements where the great majority of our species will breathe, reproduce, eat, work and find shelter. The Conference should therefore be seen in the context of a universal search for a better understanding of the complexities of modern society.

So we see the theme of human settlements as an umbrella which covers nearly all human activities. At the Habitat Conference we were studying settlements of all sizes, in all geographic and climatic circumstances, in developing and industrialized societies, in different political and sociocultural settings. We were studying examples of success and failure, problems of resources, the use of various technologies, and all kinds of administrative and institutional structures. We were looking at the past and present and studying alternatives for the future, weighing programs for national and international action.

But most of all, I think, we must now consider two central issues: the need for national human settlement planning and the role of human settlements in national development strategies. These also are the issues in which planning and political action most clearly intersect.

Of vast importance in the planning of human settlements will be the distribution of populations between rural and urban areas. The proportion of the population in cities and towns will depend in large part on the priority given to plans and programs designed to promote rural-based development and to encourage people to remain in rural environments.

Rural Development Needed

Despite the trend to the cities, the great majority of people, especially in the Third World, still live in rural areas, and therefore high priority should be given to the improvement of conditions there in order to lsssen the pull to the city. Another compelling argument for rural development, as has been recognized at several world conferences and most recently in Recommendations to the Ad Hoc Committee of the 7th Special Session of the General Assenbly is that, "the solution to world food problems lies primarily in increasing rapidly food production in the developing countries." The recommendation urges countries to "give high priority to agricultural and fisheries development, increase investment accordingly and adopt policies which give adequate incentives to agricultural producers."

Therefore, we must work for an integrated plan of rural development—roads, water control, credit facilities, and rural health facilities, including family planning and maternal and child care.

We also need much more comprehensive and innovative planning for both urban agglomerations and smaller cities, consistent with the basic development needs of each society. We all want to avoid the planless growth of today's "miseropoli," whether of the developing or developed societies. Foremost in our planning must be humanistic considerations, and not continued emphasis on purely material growth. or, in the case of developing societies, where labor intensive development is important, indigenous materials and styles should be properly utilized. And there must, as part of this humanistic design for living, be planning for community, cultural, and private activities, more agreeable connections between work, home and leisure, and concern for the individual needs of all people, and especially women, children, and the elderly.

Furthermore, in a concern with comprehensive planning for people and of land for the future, we can avoid the sharp alternatives between urban agglomerations and rural life.. We can create smaller cities and larger towns which can better achieve the values of both urban and country living, of smaller and more participatory community life, and more humanistic and economic designs to promote the quality of life.

Finally, comprehensive planning for human settlements must take into account a dynamic population situation, as indicated in the alternative population projections between the high of 6.7 billion and the low of 5.8 billion for the year 2000. There is no doubt that the number of people in the world will continue to increase for the rest of this century and beyond. This follows from two facts. First, in the developing world, between 40 and 50 percent of the population is below 15 years of age, and their reproductive years are still ahead of them with the result that there is a continuous momentum of population growth. And second, we could, if successful development strategies are adapted, cause infant mortality to decline, and increase life expectancy throughout the developing societies.

Therefore, in order to plan for better human settlements and create a more manageable situation, it would appear essential for all countries to implement fully the important principle they all adopted at the World Population Conference, and take effective steps to assure that "all couples and individuals have the basic right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to have the information, education and means to do so. . .(which) takes into account the needs of their living and future children and their responsibility towards the community."

Population Growth and Distribution Policies

In conclusion, I think it should be evident that the Habitat Conference will not propose a universal design for human settlement planning. However, most countries will need and are moving toward more comprehensive concepts of planning than they have known in the past. We must start now, not only to implement policies restraining population growth, but also to formulate policies for better population distribution. We must find ways to harmonize the opportunities for sectoral growth with the needs of regional balance. We must find systems of resource development and industrialization which serve rather than use people and which complement the natural environment. And we must design and build human settlements offering a quality of life which enhances rather than burdens human creativity and hope.

We are now coming to understand—and I think this is almost universal in the developing world—that we need a new development model which will serve social as well as economic goals and which is not founded on concepts of production for production's sake alone. Comprehensive land-use planning, integrating economic, social and regional aspects and regeneration of the rural areas can be the conceptual framework for this new model. Before this can happen, however, **there must be a global educational process: awakening public awareness of the challenge ahead and stimulating political interest at local, national and international levels.**

"Improving the quality of our lives wherever we live . . ."

United States Concern

Habitat, the 1976 UN Conference on Human Settlements, already promises to be a good deal more than just one additional gathering added to the string that began with the 1972 Conference on Environment in Stockholm, continued with the conferences on Population in Bucharest, Food in Rome, and the Rights of Women in Mexico City, and will go on to at least one more on Water scheduled for Buenos Aires in 1976. If anything, Habitat shapes up in the eyes of many nations as the central focus in this rather extensive array of world forums, because it deals so directly with human beings and with human problems.

Organizing the wide array of relevant issues for the Habitat Conference has been a difficult task. First, existing conditions in urban and rural areas with respect to shelter, infrastructure, and services differ so much among the nations of the world. To take one example, in developing nations roads, water lines and other infrastructure are scarce commodities that are widely sought. In developed nations they are not only taken for granted; the decision whether or not to provide

for Human Settlements

by

Russell Peterson

Chairman, President's
Council on Environmental Quality
Deputy Chairman, US Delegation
to the Habitat Conference

The US government stresses the variety of circumstances and policies confronting human settlements in the world today and calls for a high level of citizen participation in meeting the 20th century problems of population growth and distribution.

them is an important tool of government in determining the pattern and pace of settlement.

Second, trends in human settlement vary tremendously from nation to nation and among groups of nations. In many European nations migration is a minor factor in human settlements; there cities have adopted gracefully to the economics and other implications of a stable population. In many of the developing nations, the dynamics are quite different, with tremendous growth in urban areas, serious stagnation in rural villages, and a wrenching pattern of dislocations and migrations throughout the lower classes.

The United States provides still another contrast. Long a nation of steady urbanization, the USA has seen a major shift in trends since 1970, with a higher growth rate in rural than in metropolitan counties, and with some of our largest metropolitan areas losing population on an overall basis. Also unlike the developing countries, the poor in America are in rural areas and in the center of our cities; the ring around American cities is filled not with shanty towns, but with subdivisions.

The third reason that Habitat provides a major challenge to our thinking is the difficulty of agreeing on measures of progress. At Stockholm it was easy to agree that pollution levels should be lowered, and that natural areas and wildlife should be protected—everyone could agree on what direction marked progress. Likewise food supply, population, and even women's rights are concepts that array nicely on a continuum that marks progress. But with many of the issues under discussion at Habitat, there is no such agreement on which direction to move in order to progress. Housing goals can be set and public investment in infrastructure and services increased, but these alone can only tell part of the story and cannot really measure whether settlements are meeting human needs and aspirations.

Six Areas of Concern

The Draft Recommendations for National Action are divided into six major areas—policy, planning, institutions, shelter/infrastructure/services, land use, and citizen participation. I would like to mention briefly some of the points under these categories which the U.S. delegation considers important.

The first area, policy, is potentially the most nebulous. Nevertheless, there are a number of specific points to be made here. **We have suggest-**

ed that such a policy should take account of existing settlements and means to improve them (in many nations too much effort goes into planning new cities, not enough into improving conditions where people now live). And it should include a strategy for controlling population growth through a variety of accepted birth control methods.

Planning Must Be Practical

In the area of planning, it must be recognized that this term means a great many different things to different people. We have urged that the planning recommendations accent the practical and focus planning on two important goals—to protect important natural areas and to protect human health and safety. Settlements planning needs to recognize both of these important precepts.

Planning leads one to project today's trends into the future, an exercise that uncovers developing problems that would be missed by the conventional myopic approach we normally use as we focus on this year's operating statement or limit our time horizon to the short term of an elected official. Likewise, an individual project in a human settlement can be harmless but the cumulative impact of many such projects can be devastating. **To consider what kind of a habitat we would like for our grandchildren and how we might help to build it will call for much more comprehensive planning and a much longer term perspective than we are used to.**

In the third area, that of institutions, the U.S. delegation has not taken a major role. As Americans we distrust highly centralized power and prefer a complex of Federal, state, regional, and local institutions to handle our problems. We stress the importance of strong citizen participation in the institutional framework.

The fourth area has been described by some as the meat and potatoes of the Conference. It deals with issues of shelter, infrastructure, and services. Here I believe the United States has a great deal to offer in the way of experience, insights, and innovations. We emphasize a recognition of the interdependence of shelter, major infrastructure like roads and sewers, and services like schools and hospitals. The three elements must be planned together, and have not been too often in the past.

The fifth area in the Recommendations for National Action deals with land use. Here, too, the United States has much to offer in the way of more advanced growth management, development regulations, and capital budget planning techniques that can work in countries with market economies and strong rights related to private property. At the same time, we must realize that there are some legal and land tenure problems in the developing world with which we have had little experience. Chief among these is the issue of legitimitizing the property rights of squatters so they can be eligible to receive basic infrastructure and services. This legal problem is critical to the well-being of millions.

Citizen Participation

The final area, by contrast, is citizen participation where the U.S. has much experience to offer other nations. I do not believe there is another country where citizens are involved so actively in the decisions of government and major private actions. We see this every day at the Council on Environmental Quality, where we receive letters and review agency compliance with Federal environmental impact statements. This citizen involvement is exemplified by the strong and detailed set of recommendations for citizen involvement in the development of national strategies for known settlements which the U.S. Government presented earlier.

Obviously there is a huge difference in the priorities of the countries that will be attending the Habitat Conference. While India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines struggle to provide their people with the basic necessities of life, their current population growth threatens to almost double their task by the turn of the century. At the same time here at home we are spending $18 billion of federal funds alone to improve our sewage systems and are moving effectively toward making all our streams and lakes safe for swimming and fishing. Our birth

rate is now below the replacement level of fertility, reducing attendance in our elementary schools. Yet the basic objectives of the individual human being are pretty much the same in all societies. It is this realization of our common humanity that would be good to keep in mind as we prepare to consider the problems of human settlements.

Family Planning Is Gaining Support

A word of optimism is merited. **In the developing countries I visited, (from the top leader to the individual farmers and slum dwellers) there is a growing realization of their predicament, of limitations in the carrying capacity of their land and of the relationship of family size to the quality of life of the individual and of the country. There is also a strong determination to reduce birth rates. What's more it has now been demonstrated in the worst slums and poorest rural villages that poor people with no significant improvement in their socio-economic status will, on a sustained basis, practice family planning given the means of doing so free or at low cost.**

Here in the USA, as we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our country's birth and of our dedication to the principle that all humans have certain inalienable rights such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it behooves us to take time to reflect on the great variation across the globe in mankind's success in fulfilling these rights. And as we consider the global habitat conference, it is important to remember that it is in human settlements where the forces are exerted to further or to limit the individual's fulfillment of these rights.

In short, Habitat is a conference about all human life and how to improve the quality of that life from whatever level it is at today. Whether it is a child in the bustees of Calcutta, the worker being moved from his favela in Rio to a new housing project on the outskirts, or the middle class American trying to protect his suburban home from an endless line of bulldozers, there are many ways to improve the quality of all our lives wherever we live, and the Habitat Conference in Vancouver can help us better understand how.

"Too many people, too few jobs . . . "

The Cities That Came

by
Barbara Ward
Author
President International Institute for Environment and Development

One of the first articles on the crisis of human settlements, this excerpt from The Economist, December 6, 1969, stresses the difference between the growth of cities in the developed world in the last century, caused primarily by the presence of industrial jobs, and the growth of cities in developing countries today, caused primarily by the explosive growth of population. Barbara Ward is the author of The Home of Man, *W. W. Norton, New York, 1976, a book which was commissioned especially for the Habitat Conference.*

Urban growth in the developing world today is not so much a measure of healthy, inevitable processes of modernization as a pathological acceleration of urban "cell creation" which could put whole societies into a terminal crisis of social and economic disintegration.

This possibility is borne out by another set of comparisons. Urbanization has been taken as a hallmark of successful modernization largely because of the pattern of development suggested by nineteenth century experience. Throughout most of the developed world, cities grew in response to the new forces of industrialism. For the first time in human history, the bulk of man's work was removed from the fields and taken into the lofts and workshops of early manufacturing. As the factory system grew and railways grew in its wake, large concentrations of people and services for production and distribution proved economically irresistible. They provided ever larger economies of scale, ever wider varieties of employment and, as the whole society became more sophisticated, a far greater range of tertiary services. **It was in this way that cities came to be seen as the essential and successful creators and transmission-belts of the new technological system.**

There is, however, no doubt about which came first—not the large cities but the stimulus to industrialization and all its attendant employment-giving needs. In nineteenth century Europe, for instance, as various countries crossed the threshold of industrialization, the proportion of the population living in cities of over 20,000 was invariably smaller than the proportion of the working force engaged in manufacturing. In France in 1856 the percentages were 10.7 percent in the urban areas, 29 percent working in industry; for Sweden in 1890 10.8 percent and 22 percent; for Austria in the same year 12 percent and 30 percent. Switzerland, with its remarkable system of decentralization and cantonal development, produced an even sharper contrast. In 1888, 45 percent of its labour force were already in manufacturing. Only just over 13 percent of its people were town-dwellers.

Jobs Lag Behind Urbanization

Today in the developing world the position is almost exactly reversed. In country after country, the percentage of the population in towns is considerably higher than the percentage of men working in industry. In Tunisia in 1956, 17.5 percent of the people were in cities, only 6.8 percent of the labour force in industry. In Brazil in 1960 the proportions were 28.1 and 9.5; in Venezuela in 1961 a fantastic contrast of 47.2 and 8.8 percent. Malaya and Korea, both in 1957, had more than 20 percent in towns, just under 7 percent in industry. Of the larger countries only India was more or less in balance.

These disproportions are not simply of academic or historical interest. They are desperate warning signals of the true nature of today's urban crisis in the developing world. **Since, in contrast to the nineteenth century experience of Europe and North America, the cities exist, as it were, ahead of the industrial system, they lack the solid base of manufacturing jobs which gave cities**

'Too Soon

growing a hundred years ago, for all their grime and misery, a solid base of economic life. . .

It is no doubt macabre to include Victorian London's mid-century cholera among the "benefits" of early, unplanned development. It is nevertheless true that relatively high mortality during the period of industrial transformation kept some sort of balance in the cities between available work and available workers. It is this balance that is totally lacking today.

A Population Tidal Wave

The reason does not lie in higher birth rates. It simply reflects a sudden, cataclysmic fall in the death rate. In Latin America over the past 50 years mortality has fallen from 28 deaths a thousand to under 15. Its effect, coupled with an unchanged birth rate of some 40 to 44 births per thousand, is to increase population each year by 3 percent and more. In the cities, in the small towns, on the land, the percentage does not vary much. The labour force to be housed, fed and employed grows by over 2 per cent a year. And since, all around the developing world, the exodus from the land is accelerating by at least 5 per cent a year, the likelihood for the 1970s is an even sharper rise in the number of families for whom urban work and urban services must be provided. **A tidal wave, a Hurricane Camille of country people, threatens to overwhelm the already crowded, bursting cities. It is not so much immigration, as inundation. . .**

The truth is that in the modern technological order the tendency has been to think of urbanization as derivative; as something that follows in the wake of modernization, serving the new needs of production and distribution, sucking up labour and talent, creating opportunity by proximity and acting as a transmission belt from old to new. . .

Forces out of Balance

But in the developing continents in the late twentieth century the transmission belt is not working, or rather it is working erratically and dangerously. It is pouring the new migrant multitudes not into a potentially viable urban order but into an urban wilderness where opportunities grow less as the millions pile on top of one another and the farms do not feed them or the industries employ them.

Nor is there much evidence of any automatic corrective to today's broken rhythms of urban change. **So long as the cities are regarded as a by-product of the total action of economic and social forces of a society and so long as these forces are essentially out of balance—too many people, too few jobs, too little capital, too much unskilled labour, stagnant farming, high cost industry, small markets, big technologies—the cities are bound to become the areas where all the contradictions meet, clash and finally explode.**

The Exploding Cities

by
Peter Wilsher
Editor, The Sunday Times Business News
and
Rosemary Righter
Journalist, The Sunday Times

This article highlights some of the points made in the authors' book of the same title published by Andre Deutsch Limited in 1975. In the developing world, population pressures are driving people into the cities. Today only the realistic approach of helping people to help themselves offers any promise of improving life for most of the new city-dwellers.

By the year 2000, on the most conservative predictions, one in every five of the world's population will be living in cities of more than 2.5 million people. The total number of city dwellers will almost certainly have trebled and there will be at least 17 urban agglomerations larger than New York is today.

If the rush to the cities and the uprush in their population continues at anything like the present rate, there could well be one if not two giant super metropolises of more than ten million inhabitants. The chances are that when this happens it will be somewhere in the third world like Jakarta or Mexico City where per capita civic budgets are still under $10 a head each year.

Metropolitan growth in the West was a product of industrialization and rarely outpaced the slow increase of 19th and early 20th century prosperity. The explosion already being experienced in the cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America has little to do with the advance of modern technology. **The central factor is population and its pressure on the land. Over 83 percent of the arable acreage in Asia is already cultivated, leaving little room for the doubling of rural families expected to take place in the next quarter century.**

Within our lifetime the developing world will have to feed, support and accommodate an extra 1,383 million mouths on land which often can barely sustain a starvation economy today. The statistical millstones of massive natural increase and the inevitable migration of the ill-nourished from the hungry hinterland will shape the face of the world's great cities.

What kind of cities are these where 50 million new inhabitants each year are struggling to find a toehold to live and a job to keep them alive? For the vast majority of their inhabitants, anywhere from half to four fifths of them, they will be shanty towns. World Bank surveys give some idea of what this means: "Piped water reaches the dwelling lots of only about a quarter of the urban population; the situation for sewerage is worse. Roads and public transport are increasingly inadequate, and a doubling of slum and shanty town population within the next four to six years is now in prospect." Conditions must almost certainly worsen before they improve even if the most enlightened and imaginative policies are put into effect at once.

Nonetheless there is hope and the source of that hope is the ambition of the slum dwellers themselves. They come to the cities because—for all the nightmare—conditions are better than those in the countryside. The filth of Calcutta, incredibly, generates less disease than the villages of

the rural hinterland. In the cities there are more schools, more doctors, more welfare services, however inadequate, and more hope that the lucky few will claw their way upwards to better things. **The dearest wish of the man who throws up a cardboard shack on the outskirts of Lima is that his children will have a shack of corrugated iron; for the great majority, revolution, red or any other kind, is the last thing in their thoughts. The burning issue is whether their energies can be harnessed extensively and effectively enough to solve their own problems.**

Modern Technology No Solution

What has gone wrong to a large extent is that third world governments cannot or will not allow this process to take its natural course modelling themselves on the West. Instead they have sought "modern" twentieth century, high technology and cost-effective solutions which are quite out of scale with the resources they deploy and the problems they really face. When London and Detroit cannot cope with their own growing difficulties—aging equipment, falling revenues, shifting populations and deteriorating services—attempts by the planners of poorer nations to ape their public housing projects, their freeway systems, their job creation programmes and their education standards represent only tragic waste. For every beneficiary of their expensive high-rise apartment blocks or their six lane prestige highways millions are condemned to dangerous squalor, overloaded buses, and the mud tracks of the spreading outer slums.

It is not enough, however, to wring hands over the size of the difficulties and relapse into the only too frequent sanctuary of civic corruption and feeble attempts to push the migrants and the im-

poverished out of sight. The very rapidity of the growth of the "cities that came too soon" must be made to generate its own opportunities. In country after country it is being painfully discovered that when you just cannot afford the luxury hotel or the computerized traffic system you have set your heart on you can still do a great deal with mud bricks and a simple string of red and green warning lights.

The philosophy of "second best" now has the official blessing of many big international aid and finance organizations like the World Bank and the International Labour Office. After two decades or more of grandiose projects the emphasis has now switched to encouraging self-help. Shantytowns are no longer to be swept away as unacceptable eyesores—often long before any alternative is available—but improved where they stand. Through "site-and-service" schemes, now under way in a dozen varied situations around the world, people are being encouraged to meet their own housing and sanitation needs with only basic help in the form of land, fresh water supplies and possibly cheap locally produced tools and materials. The emphasis has switched from "low-cost housing"—which frequently was beyond the purses of any but the middle rich—to land use planning. Governments are gradually being persuaded that a cheap, if not always wholly reliable, electricity supply for the masses is often better for their needs than a hyper-modern system suitable for lighting and energizing Los Angeles or Paris.

Jobs Are Crucial

Housing, health and food, though, are only part of the problem. The crucial shortage in most of the world's newer cities is jobs and, despite desperate attempts to extend the formal manufacturing and sector, the situation almost everywhere is getting worse rather than better. Although average city incomes are anywhere from double to fourteen times those prevailing in the surrounding countryside, structural unemployment even by the most cautious official figures and the tightest possible definitions often runs up toward thirty percent. In some particular strata, notably the more educated, matters are even more deplorable. Ninety-four percent of Sri Lanka teenagers with the equivalent of an American high school education were still out of work a year after leaving school at the beginning of the 1970s. Many had to wait for five or six years before being absorbed into the labour market at anything like the level represented by their qualifications.

With cutthroat competition for the few proper jobs going, the vast majority scratch a living from the tiny scale "bazaar economy"—catering, basic transport, portering, stallkeeping, and the vast proliferation and specialization of personal services. This "tertiary sector" has in many countries shown an extraordinary capacity to absorb labour and generate a minimal livelihood. But it is in danger of being swamped not only by sheer numbers but also by the indifference and often active hostility of governments who find it untidy, difficult to police, impossible to tax and so they claim "of doubtful economic utility." So far unfortunately they have found little to put in its place—even in the booming city-states like Hong Kong and Singapore where both size and relative prosperity are in their favor.

International research suggests that the best hope for economic takeoff in these countries is not the development of a formal industrial sector but the mobilization of their best asset—their increasing labor force—in small scale, low capital, semiprocessing construction and marketing activities. **The lesson often painfully learned is that pulling people into the cash economy at however humble a level is still the best way of helping them to build their own growth springboard; and only in that way will the new cities ever be able to generate the revenues needed for their own development and basic infrastructure schemes.**

The crucial trick remains the judgment of where official help will make most impact and least unnecessary disruption; and how to get the most out of the citizens' own instincts for self-preservation without allowing them to tip over into anarchy. On getting the balance right in a thousand different instances depends the difference between a world filled with "cities of hope" and a hell on earth scattered with "cities of despair."

"Unintended settlements have expanded staggeringly . . . "

Growing Pains in Lagos

by
Rasheed Gbadamosi
Formerly, Commissioner for Economic Development
Lagos State
Lagos, Nigeria

The city of Lagos, though benefitting from oil revenues, is suffering from growing pains. Transport, sewers, housing, and local government cannot keep up with the needs of inhabitants since the Lagos population increases by about 10 percent annually.

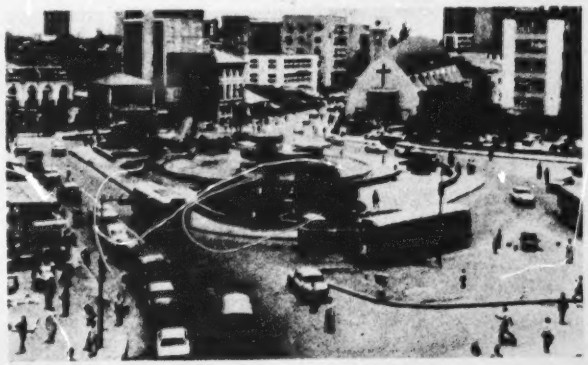
With frantic efforts, the city of Lagos is struggling to keep pace with the challenge of the second half of the 20th century.

A visitor to metropolitan Lagos can observe the land reclamation work on the waterfront, the piling and foundation works for a maze of flyovers, the excavations and laying of cables and the overwhelming presence of foreign consultants, engineers, surveyors, and builders sweating under the tropical sun to produce order out of the chaotic and planless situation of the city.

Because of the oil boom, the construction aspects of what Lagos requires to make it a throbbing metropolis in terms of structural facilities, are well underway. But, paradoxically, it is the very windfall from petroleum exports that has stretched the infrastructures of the city to their breaking point. For example, the Lagos harbour has witnessed almost a quadrupling of cargo caused by the foreign capital and consumer goods-oriented Nigerian economy. So hastily are these imports consumed that the Lagos port complex is badly congested. Boats wait on the average of about two months before they are berthed and their cargo discharged. Big trucks thunder through the narrow, [illegible]ial roads and deteriorate so fast that the owners pray for the early completion of massive intercity highway projects now underway.

Sewage Problems

The open drains are overflowing as ever. It is estimated that the cost of constructing an underground sewer system for Lagos, the nation's capital and the centre of commerce, escalated at the rate of 5 percent per annum between 1925 and 1970 but, now, with the world-wide inflation of the last few years, the revised estimate defies easy computation.



In the case of stormwater drainage for this city in the tropical rainfall belt, a study has been gathering dust for the last five years. What it would cost to embark on the project now is anybody's guess.

A comprehensive urban transportation system is yet to be executed. The United Nations is involved in identifying the needs here. There is talk of a combination of water transport, road transport and, although the most logical but little talked about, some kind of mono-underground or overland rail system.

Among the myriad of problems that beset urban Lagos, it is the relationship of the Lagos man to his environment that demands the utmost reflection.

10 Percent Annual Growth Rate

It is estimated that the rate of population growth in the area that is caused by migration is about 10 percent per annum. Coupled with an estimated annual birth rate of 2.5 percent, the influx of people into the already overcrowded city has taxed all social services to their limits and given rise to an upsurge in beggary and vagrancy but, thankfully, not a disproportionate increase in serious crimes.

In terms of space, the unplanned, unintended settlements on the outskirts of the city have expanded staggeringly. The remarkable fact about the squatter districts is that many of the houses therein are far from being shanty dwellings. In fact, an arm of officialdom, the Electricity Corporation, quietly concedes legitimacy to these areas by providing electricity lines inside the settlement. This is, in a way, only a matter of commercial consideration, since the government always reserves the right to bring in the bulldozers. A ready alibi would be that the buildings have not *ab initio* received the authorities' approval.

In these areas, the roads are haphazard and seldom tarred. Since the local authorities are overburdened, the usual municipal services are denied to the residents of the unintended settlements.

The rural-urban drifters find a sure haven in these unplanned sub-towns. They flock to the city in search of employment opportunities.The scales fall from their eyes sooner rather than later when the distant relation from the rural area days with whom they had been in correspondence gradually withdraws his initial hospitality. Thus the typical migrant soon finds himself left to his own devices. If he remains, he becomes an additional charge on the resources of the city administrators in terms of future housing plans, transportation, environmental health, water and the like.

Multiple Governments

Yet urban management in Nigeria, especially the running of affairs in Lagos, has not been satisfactory. The bane of the city's management is the undefined relationship, in terms of management obligations, between the arms of government that execute a series of interrelated and not so related projects in the metropolis. One study identified about seven agencies whose activities have a bearing on the development of the city. The situation is exacerbated by the presence of two government headquarters in Lagos, that is, the Federal government and the Lagos State government. Furthermore, while the Lagos City Council looks after the affairs of the inner metropolitan area at the local level, there are two other Councils whose areas of jurisdiction impinge on the metropolis. Overall, it is the might of the Federal government that is most felt by the city through the Nigerian Ports Authority, the Post and Telegraph, the Electric Power Authority, the Federal roads projects, and the Railways. These agencies often appear to

work at cross purposes. It is, for instance, a common occurrence to see a fine, newly constructed road being dug up by the telephone men on the excuse that a cable fault has just occurred. Electric power cuts are frequently associated with civil works piling and construction.

Refuse Piles Up

The services that impinge on the quality of life in the city are in the province of the City Council, although this Council is the weakest agency of all. It is always short of funds. The state government bails it out often. But its capital cost obligations cannot be met when recurrent expenditures are not provided for. When, on occasions, grants are given to it to purchase, say, a refuse-compacting vehicle, the grants are limited to the cost of the van and exclude the costs of operation and spare parts. Thus the vehicle runs for half the year and then is grounded. Meanwhile, the refuse piles up.

Recently, the two governments inhabiting Lagos are waking up to their responsibilities. They have, for better or worse, been relieving the City Council of certain onerous responsibilities. A separate agency is running an urban transport service; another one is responsible for housing and estate development. But this has not put an end to the under-performance at the local level. Perhaps a new financial arrangement will one day surface and this will be of some help.

A Joint Metropolitan Planning Board is in the works. It would be an omnibus organization where some co-ordination of the city's development could at least be discussed. If oil revenues continue, work should commence on the sewers and by the time the ring road networks are completed, there may be an ease of traffic jams.

It is also expected that a shift of population concentration will occur because a planned "new town" will be completed soon. One hopes the settlement will be for all kinds of people and not only for the movement of the middle class to the suburbs.

These then are the problems and prospects in Lagos as this city continues to grow at an unprecedented rate.

TRENDS AND ALTERNATIVES IN POPULATION GROWTH AND URBANIZATION 1970-2000

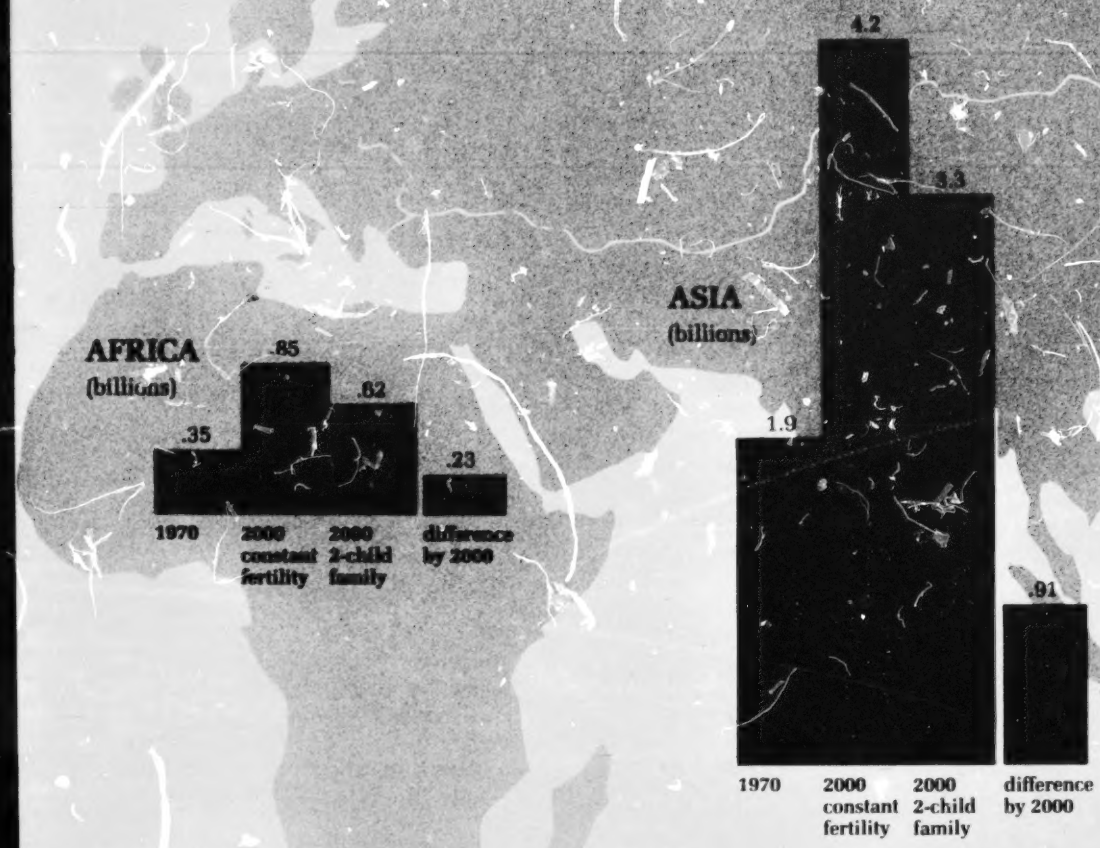
Note

The graphs above display world population and urban population in 1970 and project the growth of total and urban population in the year 2000 under two different assumptions: (a) if fertility remains unchanged at the 1970 level; or (b) if a two-child family level is reached in gradual stages by 2000.

The graph on the right in each group depicts the difference in total population and urban population if assumption (b), the two-child family by 2000, is achieved rather than assumption (a), fertility unchanged. In other words, if the two-child family is achieved by the year 2000, there will be 38 million fewer people in the developed countries, 229 million fewer in Africa, 909 million fewer in Asia, and 198 million fewer in Latin America. Urban populations will also be lower as shown.

The population of the developed countries as calculated here includes the USA, Canada, the USSR, Japan and Oceania.

Source: United Nations Population Division. Projections by the University of Chicago's Community Family Study Center.



rural population urban population

Sound urban development enhances man's potential

The Role of Cities in Development

by
Robert S. McNamara
President, World Bank Group

To enable the rapidly growing cities of the developing world to provide their inhabitants with a more productive life, realistic strategies of self-help will be necessary. Jobs in the informal sector, that is, labor intensive, low capital industries should be expanded. Capital should be more available at lower interest rates; excessive regulations should be eliminated; and manufacture for export encouraged. Public services, including minimal water and sewage facilities, health, family planning, education, transport, and housing should be designed for the poor majority rather than the affluent elite since the urban problem in developing countries today is primarily a problem of poverty. This article is excerpted from the Address to the Board of Governors, World Bank Group, September 1, 1975.

Cities are, of course, many things, but essentially they are an instrument for providing their inhabitants—all their inhabitants—with a more productive life. They are not primarily collections of elaborate architecture, or of city planners' theories perpetuated in stone. Even less should they be thought of as sanctuaries of the privileged, who wish to put a decent distance between themselves and the masses of the rural poor.

Urban poverty can be cured nowhere in the world unless cities are thought of as absorptive mechanisms for promoting productive employment for all those who need and seek it. In the past 25 years in the developing countries some 200 to 300 million individuals have benefited at least marginally by migration, and since even at their unacceptably low levels of income they have been more productively employed in the cities than they would have been had they remained in the rural areas, the national economy itself has benefited.

This is not to make a case for wholesale migration from the rural areas. It is only to recognize that poverty will persist in the cities until governments determine to increase their capacity not simply to absorb the poor, but to promote their productivity by providing the employment opportunities, the infrastructure, and the services necessary for that purpose.

Any realistic strategy must place emphasis on increasing the earning opportunities of the poor in the informal sector.

The Informal Sector

The employment problem in urban areas is not simply "jobs" in the conventional sense but rather the level of productivity and earnings. There is relatively little open unemployment among the urban poor. Without some kind of a job, they simply cannot eat. But they are often prevented from increasing their earnings by a

combination of market forces, institutional arrangements, and public policies which confer privileges on the large, well-established firms and which penalize the informal sector.

Governments must take steps to moderate the bias in favor of large-scale, capital-intensive production and turn their attention more positively to small producers, not only in manufacturing but also in transport, construction, commerce, and other service sectors.

The informal sector offers the most immediate opportunities of greater productivity for the urban poor. It already, of course, provides the livelihood for the vast majority, and though its earnings are considerably less than those in the formal sector, its flexibility and ease of entry are an important asset. What is required is that government policy support it, without attempting to standardize it.

There are a number of ways in which governments can assist the small producer and the self-employed.

They can, for example, assure access to credit facilities on reasonable terms. The informal sector usually has very limited access to government banking and credit services. It must rely largely on the urban moneylender, who, like his village counterpart, is responsive but usurious. What are needed are improved banking policies that will make adequate capital available.

This can be done through rediscounting commercial bank loans to small-scale enterprises by central banks; by government guarantees to cover additional risks in informal-sector loans; and by new specialized institutions designed specifically to finance small enterprises. Like the small farmer, the urban informal-sector businessman is usually starved for credit. He does not need it in large amounts, nor does he need it at unrealistically low interest rates. But he needs it without excessive bureaucratic obstruction, and he needs it without procedural delay.

Further, governments can promote mutually beneficial relationships between the informal and formal sectors by reserving land for small enterprises in the vicinity of industrial developments. One effective technique is to establish industrial estates which will provide space neither exclusively to large nor to small industries, but which will deliberately situate firms of all sizes in close proximity, specifically to encourage economic linkages between them.

Since small enterprises individually have only very limited purchasing and marketing capacity, governments can promote cooperative facilities to lower their costs and increase their efficiency. At the national, regional and municipal levels, government agencies, as well as banks and private firms, can offer technical assistance to the small entrepreneur, analogous to the extension services for small farmers.

Finally, governments can help the informal sector to flourish by the removal of onerous and often outdated licensing and regulatory controls.

Taken together, the removal of biases favoring the modern sector, and the special assistance to the informal sector, can substantially improve the earning opportunities of the urban poor in the informal sector.

Jobs in the Modern Sector

But the strengthening of the informal sector need not prevent the continued growth of the larger enterprises. On the contrary, special efforts must be made in many countries to turn their manufacturing enterprises away from the relatively small markets associated with import substitution, and toward the much larger opportunities flowing from export promotion. Korea, Taiwan, Mexico and Brazil, which achieved 15 to 20 percent annual growth in their manufactured exports in the late 1960s and early 1970s, clearly demonstrated the feasibility of bolstering manufacturing employment with this policy.

Further, the gradual reduction, and the ultimate elimination, of capital subsidies to the modern sector, as has been done in Hong Kong and Singapore, can make both production and service activities significantly more labor-intensive. . .

The first element, then, in the strategy to increase the productivity of the urban poor is to remove barriers to their earning opportunities. The second is to provide them with essential public services at standards they can afford.

About one-third of the population in most of the cities of the developing world lives in slums that are either wholly without or very inadequately served by public water, sewerage, transport, education, and housing. These conditions have a seriously detrimental effect on the health, productivity, and incomes of the poor.

Assuring Access to Public Services

The urban poor are frequently denied access to public services not because they do not exist, but because they have been designed or located largely for middle and upper-income city dwellers, and are simply beyond the reach of the less privileged.

The whole question of "standards" of urban services works to the disadvantage of the urban poor for they are often written with middle-class or upper-income orientations, and have little relevance to the situation the poor find themselves in.

Standards are important, but they must be formulated to meet realistic and attainable objectives. If the needs of the poor are to be met within a reasonable time span, public utilities and social services will have to be provided at costs which they can afford to pay.

The single most important factor in improving the health environment of the poor is to provide clean water and adequate sewerage. A commonly used standard calls for cities to supply 200 liters of water per person per day. Many cities in the developing world simply cannot afford to do that, which is understandable. What is not understandable is that instead of lowering the standard to fit their resources, some cities pipe 200 liters per person per day to individual houses in the affluent and middle-class neighhoods, but leave 60 percent of the population—the poor on the periphery of the city—without any piped water at all. The result frequently is endemic cholera among the poor, because they must depend on unclean water from other sources.

Often, all that low-income families can afford are standpipes, but this form of water supply, together with technical assistance in improving sanitation facilities, can have an immensely beneficial impact on their health.

Essential health and education services for the poor are also seriously deficient in most of the cities of the developing world. Health care, for example, is frequently confined to modern and expensive hospitals, when what is needed are small clinics located in areas of the city where most health problems begin: in the slums and squatter settlements. Indeed the whole orientation of health care should emphasize low-cost preventive medicine rather than high-cost curative care. The poor are often ill—and their children often die—but the causes are almost always diseases that could have been readily prevented by a more sanitary environment and simple preventive measures.

Using Community Workers

Inexpensive health delivery systems can be designed around community-based health workers who can provide the poor with a broad spectrum of simple and effective services: immunization, health and nutrition education, and family-planning advice.

The same principle applies to education. What is required are small, inexpensive, and informal basic education units, located in accessible areas, and designed to serve minimum learning needs of both children and adults: literacy and elementary arithmetic, child care, vocational advice, and the knowledge necessary for responsible civic participation.

Pluralism in Transport

The poor must also be within reach of employment possibilities. This means transport facilities which they can afford. Usually the urban transport available is either too expensive, or does not serve the areas in which the poor live. It is clear that most cities would benefit substantially from a radical reallocation of their transport systems away from domination by the private automobile, and in the direction of public transport that can move large numbers of passengers at low unit costs.

What is needed is a healthy pluralism in transport: buses, jitneys, taxis, motor rickshaws, pedicabs, bicycle paths—whatever is cost-effective and appropriate to the distances involved.

Establishing Realistic Housing Policies

City governments often congratulate themselves on their subsidized blocks of low-income housing, and the physical structures are frequently impressive. What is depressing is that the so-called low-income housing is almost always too expensive for the poor. Surveys indicate that up to 70 percent of the poor cannot afford even the cheapest housing produced by public agencies.

Slums and squatter settlements are the inevitable result. Authorities typically strongly disapprove of them: they are illegal, they are unsightly, and they are unsanitary. But too often cities have failed to find any solution—short of demolition—to deal with them. The fact is that the upgrading of existing squatter settlements can be a low-cost and practical approach to low-income shelter. Upgrading legalizes the settlement, provides secure tenure, and supplies minimum infrastructure: water, roads, storm drainage, security lighting, and rubbish collection. Education and other community facilities can generally be added.

One of the most interesting features of squatter settlements is that though they are inhabited by the very poor, there is a very strong sense of saving among the residents. Out of their minuscule earnings, they save every cent they can. Their great ambition is to have a better home for their families. But they are prudent men and women: they are unwilling to invest their savings in home improvement until they have tenure. That is why squatter settlements are often so ramshackle. Once upgraded projects provide legal tenure, the poor are not only willing to spend on home improvements, but do so with enthusiasm, and remarkable transformations often take place.

The housing that can be provided by upgrading existing slums and squatter settlements is of course limited. A somewhat more costly, but still practical, alternative is the "sites and services" approach. It can provide the framework for improved housing for vast numbers of the poor, particularly if it is planned with adequate lead time.

The city provides a suitable area of new land, grades and levels it, and furnishes it with essential infrastructure: access roads, drainage, water, sewerage, and electricity. The land is divided into small plots and is leased or sold to the poor, who are supplied with simple house plans, and a low-cost loan with which to purchase inexpensive building materials. The actual construction is made the responsibility of the poor, who build their houses themselves.

And as communities are more than just housing, sites and services projects include schools, health clinics, community halls, day-care centers, and some provision for creating jobs: land, for example, set aside for the establishment of an appropriate small-scale industry.

Sites and services projects, then, stimulate self-help, and make it possible for the poor to house themselves in a viable, cohesive community with a minimum of public expenditure. . .

The Problem is Poverty

These, then, are some of the measures that governments should ponder as they confront the growing pressure of urbanization. For the next decade or two—indeed for as far forward as anyone can realistically plan—the urban problem will be a poverty problem.

The urban poor are not simply a statistical inconvenience to planners, a disturbing reminder of what might be possible if they would somehow just go away, a continually disappointing factor in budget allocations because of their chronic inability to pay taxes. That is not what urban poverty is about.

The urban poor are hundreds of millions of human beings who live in cities, but do not really share the good and productive life of cities. Their deprivations exclude them.

In the end, cities exist as an expression of man's attempt to achieve his potential.

It is poverty that pollutes that promise.

It is development's task to restore it.

Priority for community service, not the individual sick.

Providing Human Settlements With Community - Based Services

by

Frederick T. Sai, M.D., M.P.H.

Associate Secretary-General
International Planned Parenthood Federation

To provide adequate health, family planning, and other services in rapidly growing urban slums and settlements means mobilizing the people of the community to take responsibility. Sophisticated hospitals are less helpful to poor communities than outreach services that bring health and family planning directly to each family. In community-based services, the supplier and the consumer can work together for results that will benefit most of the population most of the time.

Health care and family planning services for human settlements should be conceived as part of overall national health and social services, which in turn should be fully integrated in overall national development programs.

So far, many health schemes in settlements have failed to benefit the majority of the population or even those most in need because they have obeyed what has been called the "inverse care law", that is, both in quality and intensiveness most care is available to those who require least care. In other words, in developing countries health care has been focused in urban areas, even though most of the population lives in rural areas. And even in urban settlements major hospitals and health facilities are geographically, socially and economically most accessible to the richer elements of society, although clearly the health needs of the poorer elements are greater. To produce a socially just health system for any human settlement, therefore, would require that the system be:

geographically comprehensive;
demographically comprehensive;
continuous; and
economically efficient.

To produce an efficient family planning program that will meet the needs of human settlements, the same approach is necessary. It is also true that, in settlements both urban and rural, no amount of health or family planning care will be completely successful if the basic environment has not been adequately considered and, if necessary, improved. Health in a positive sense cannot be ensured unless there is adequate housing, adequate water supply and a satisfactory waste disposal system. The same requirements can also apply to successful family planning and child-rearing.

A Basic Human Right

At the World Population Conference in 1974, 136 governments arrived at a consensus that:

> "All couples and individuals have the basic human right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to have the information, education and means to do so . . ."

This is an essential part of a just and comprehensive health system. **For in the long run, if resources and services are to be made commensurate with numbers, then planning of numbers becomes a very important individual and community responsibility.**

Nevertheless, implementing this basic human right and this essential element in development planning can pose formidable problems for many communities. Some, for example, have maintained that family planning services should not be a single purpose operation, but be integrated with other social services in a community. No one can challenge this, but at the same time it should be clear that in places where no welfare services are now available, people should not also be denied family planning services. Moreover, family planning can be made a carrier of other services or an entry through which the people may be made aware of their other needs and helped to mobilize their resources to meet them.

Family planning services should be more than the mere distribution of contraceptives. A WHO study has put forth the following objectives of family planning:

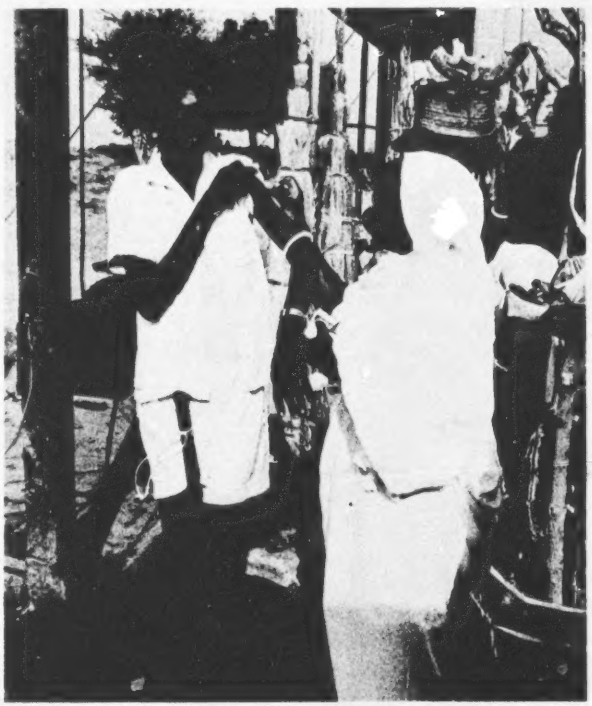
> to avoid unwanted births;
> to regulate the interval between pregnancies;
> to control the time at which births occur in relation to the ages of the parents; and
> to determine the number of children in the family.

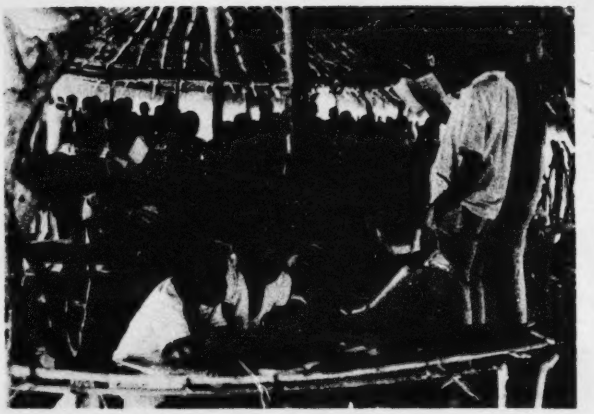
In addition to these, family planning should include sexuality information and education and counselling guidance for family life. Needless to say, such services cannot be satisfactorily handled totally through fixed clinics or relatively scarce health professionals. Also, the requirement of prescriptions for the supplying of the technology or the unavailability of commodities may prevent these services from reaching people who need them.

Community-Based Programs

To counter these obstacles, new approaches to family planning are on the way, approaches which take account of the real needs of people living in human settlements and the realistic possibilities for reaching these people. New approaches to family planning services are appropriately described as community-based distribution services. They include the use of local bazaars, village midwives, and many local outlets. In some areas the village community leaders themselves distribute contraceptives after requisite training. It is believed that when the community itself is responsible for this activity, the people will accept these new methods more readily.

Among successful village-handled family planning efforts can be mentioned the Colombian distribution program which uses the women's development clubs in the coffee plantations. Each leader of the women's club who elects to be a distributor gets a period of training from a family planning field worker. She then receives stocks of contraceptives which she distributes to her clients. Very accurate records are kept by these village distributors. The continuation rates in this program are about 85 percent for orals. This is very high indeed. An urban sales program also operates in Colombia where city shops are used for the sale of contraceptives.





In Thailand, teachers are trained to provide contraceptives in some parts of the country. In other areas community leaders and village shopkeepers do the distribution. In all of these cases there is a clear-cut referral system and a training and supervision scheme which ensures not only that the consumer is completely aware of what is involved and makes an informed choice, but also that the supplier has a clear line of referral right through to the most sophisticated hospital. In most cases these services have been started purely as family planning services, but efforts are now rightly being made to include other health concerns. In Thailand, in particular, the village suppliers have become points of health surveillance and help refer sick children and make other reports to the supervising doctors on many issues related to health.

Decentralization Crucial

All these services should ideally be integrated and decentralized into one comprehensive whole. There should be a national policy on health, nutrition and population which is a clear statement of priorities. It should include the role that is to be played by already established infra-structure. The implementation of policy should be decentralized and the selection of priorities be made a local responsibility. The total community should be involved in all aspects of these services.

China offers one example of a many-tiered referral system—from village right up to sophisticated hospital, with operational activities and implementation worked out at the level of the commune, factory or city block. There is a gradation from health facility and personnel of the simplest kind at the periphery to the highly sophisticated, well manned central hospital. Health education permeates all activities. The services for family planning and nutrition are completely integrated into overall health and community development activities.

To initiate such policies what is needed is a clear statement from the top that unless and until the totality of the population is assured a certain minimum of health care money, then money for

in-depth medical care in specialized and sophisticated institutions will be diminished.

Hospitals Serve Small Populations

In most cities, there are hospitals. However, the people in the urban slums, migrant populations and ethnic minorities frequently do not feel themselves to be served by these hospitals. What is more important, because of money for transport and fees for services, the poor may not actually use these hospitals when they need them. It is necessary, therefore, to treat the peripheral areas almost like rural communities and help them divide into cells or blocks, each one with its own peripheral health facility, and a line of referral.

Within these communities, the health leaders could identify personnel to train for health education, for disease surveillance and for primary level medical care activities. From such village or community health outposts, referrals can be made through the usual health posts or health centre/area hospital and finally to the specialist hospital.

In many African hospitals today, people are treated for conditions within the hospital with no thought as to whether the hospital is the best place for such treatment. If a hypertensive woman or one with heart failure has to go through difficult transportation conditions of a big city and arrive in a hospital exhausted for a cursory examination, a blood pressure check and a few tablets, one might well ask whether this practice of medicine is not inhumane. In terms of the diseases being treated and the patient would it not be more satisfactory if perhaps a school girl next door were trained to take the blood pressure and report on a group of her "patients" within that community, so that they could be sent their treatment. Not only would this be a more humane approach to treating chronic diseases, but also it would help to take an unnecessary load off central facilities which, if they are to have any role at all in the overall health structure of the country, must emphasize the development of model organization and methods, research and training. Similarly, a woman needing another months' cycle of birth control pills should not have to spend her time and money travelling to a distant clinic. **A more rational approach to health care delivery in any human settlement starts with the premise that medical care is best given at the family, household or community level.**

It may sound cruel, but in most LDCs right now, the closure of their major hospitals would probbably have no great impact on their health statistics but would release resources needed for more positive health care. In other words, the major activities which could make an impact on the health of the whole population might then be identified and funded properly.

Ethical Dilemma

An ethical dilemma is posed here for all human settlements: the dilemma of the individual sick versus the community sick. Since the "sick" community may be made well by relatively simple methods, the priority to health leaders ought to be clear.

Treatment of the individual sick has dominated the health scene in many countries for a very long time. Unfortunately this has come to mean the glorification of hospitals, sophisticated equipment and practices and the production of medical workers mostly unsuited to the major needs of their communities. **In LDCs this situation has resulted in the development of systems of medical care delivery which may exclude upwards of 80 percent of the population from any kind of care. This social discrimination affects most severely children, women, the urban poor and the rural areas.**

What is being advocated now is a system of health care which is firmly based on health promotion and protection and disease prevention, including a strong component of family planning. Disease treatment will fit into the scheme mostly from the point of view of its contribution to spur future disease prevention and health protection of the community. A just system can only be possible if health care itself is seen as an integrated part of programs aimed at total community improvement. The community then does not distinguish between supplier and consumer, but works together for those programs—in health, family planning, and other social services—that benefit most of the population most of the time.

Mexico Looks at

by
Enrique Sanchez Palomera
General Technical Director,
Technical Council of the
Subsecretariat of Environment
Department of Health and Welfare
Mexico

Mexico's rapid rates of population growth and urbanization have stimulated new government policies in urban housing, rural development, and responsible parenthood. The Habitat Conference provides an occasion to try to restore to human settlements the human dimensions that many modern cities have lost.

Among environmental problems, that of human settlements is distinguished by its direct relationship to the population problem and its implications. **Mexico has a population growth rate of 3.5 percent and in the capital this rises to 4.5 percent. In other cities the rate has surpassed 10 percent annually.**

In Mexico, as in other countries, this phenomenon creates many socioeconomic problems which are compounding themselves so rapidly that merely slowing them down will be extremely difficult. Population growth inevitably affects the ways in which humans choose or adapt themselves to life in settlements. Not in the city nor in a small village can a person establish a totally satisfactory habitat. He must always submit to certain limitations in order to attain his wishes - even paradoxically when he wishes to attain power itself. Man would like to live in comfort, ease and privacy. He still must limit himself to whatever he can get, either directly or even indirectly by tying up part of his income for years to come.

In order to help solve the housing problem, the Mexican Government has created finance institutions for housing in every price range, primarily of the low-cost type accessible to workers, peasants and government workers, including Army and Navy people. Because of the scope of its activities, INFONAVIT (National Workers' Housing Institute) is the most important of these. Using contributions from workers, it erects houses which it sells by lottery to be paid in 15 years. Other agencies use similar systems.

Rural Areas Suffer

The problems of urban settlements affect the rural areas and vice-versa. One of the most important mechanisms of interrelationship is the growing migration of people from the rural areas toward the cities. This is promoting an unprecedented growth in the great centers, as well as an unacceptable reduction of the number of village dwellers. These effects are equally important. A small town needs citizens who can pay taxes in order to maintain decent public services. When this fails to happen, the town slowly disintegrates, speeding up the exodus of its inhabitants for other places that offer better living conditions. Most of the newcomers to the cities are families whose income is too low to pay the necessary taxes for public services.

In order to control this phenomenon as much as possible, the government of Mexico has implemented a program to promote the creation of in-

the Human Dimension

dustrial parks far from the urban conglomerates in areas where energy and raw materials are available. The object of this is to create new settlements which are planned from the start. Hopefully, the benefits of these new settlements will spread to nearby villages by increasing the demand for their agricultural products.

Responsible Parenthood

The government has also established a "responsible parenthood" program to make parents more aware of their responsibility to these new beings in terms of food, education and opportunities.

Health problems have become critical because of population and its effect on the distribution and size of human settlements. The National Health Program is seeking ways to control diseases resulting from poor sanitary conditions. Since water is one of the primary sources of sanitation problems, providing drinking water to all towns and reducing contamination of water and food are two of the most important objectives of the program.

We must root out the causes of the totally undesirable megalopolis of modern times. **Man is the only being who has not submitted or adjusted to the natural limitations imposed by the environment on all animal communities. One never sees an ant hill more than 10 or 15 times normal size,** nor gigantic beehives nor large groups of beaver. Animal populations, like individuals, have limits to their growth. We have adulterated nature's design, and instead of using science, technology, and culture to benefit communities, we have used them to make communities less attractive for living. It is to be hoped that government agencies as well as scientific and educational institutions will cooperate to search for solutions which are more in tune with the natural order from which we never should have departed.

The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements offers us this opportunity. The Mexican government has been involved in the Habitat Conference from the outset, holding a national preparatory meeting in December, 1974. The organizers have also participated in the Regional Meeting at Caracas and in all the Preparatory Committee meetings. Many of the representatives meeting in Vancouver possess valuable experience derived from the meetings in Stockholm and Bucharest. **We hope they establish the best methods to give human settlements the dimension they have lost: the human dimension.**

The US Experience with Population Policy Urbanization, and Community Development

by

David O. Meeker, Jr., *FAIA, AIP*

Assistant Secretary of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development
Member, US Delegation to Habitat Conference
Washington, D.C.

The United States did not experience rapid urbanization until after World War II when explosive population growth and mass migration strained the resources of local governments. While Federal programs attempted to help depressed cities and burgeoning suburbs, the need for more coherent planning became apparent in many quarters. Balancing individual rights with community goals and with the economic resources to accommodate them will be a major future challenge.

Habitat is a look at people, at homes, and at communities, both as they are and as they might be. One great hope for the Habitat Conference is that it will begin a worldwide effort to raise concern for the individual's quality of life in his local community.

The urgency of the Habitat Conference derives from two factors: (1) the current rapid growth of national populations, particularly in less wealthy countries who economic capacity to accommodate sizeable population growth is severely limited, and (2) the rapid urbanization of national populations—fed either by natural increase or migrations from rural areas, or both—and the problems this poses in providing housing, infrastructure, and services.

Global Context for National Policy

All countries in today's world, whether rich or poor, necessarily approach national policies in the areas of population growth, urbanization, and community development with full cognizance of limiting conditions prevailing throughout the world. These include:

- diminished levels of global food reserves,
- scarcity and high cost of energy through traditional means,
- shortages of capital and high cost of borrowing,
- environmental concerns,
- restricted institutional capacity for change, and
- high cost of security in an era of national and international tensions.

We applaud the Population Crisis Committee and the Draper World Population Fund Report for focusing on the impact of rapid population growth in this worldwide struggle for a higher quality of life. Both in the United States and abroad, there are always opportunities for independent organizations to identify and foster discussion of new issues during that critically important phase be-

fore there is sufficient national consensus for official government action.

The first 195 years of U.S. history were intimately associated with the growth ethic: more is better. A high birth rate and unrestricted immigration contributed to population growth in the first century and a half of the nation's history. More recently, medical science and improved living conditions have extended average life expectancy into the 70s. **Today those concerned with population growth focus their attention more on the private decisions of millions of couples with regard to whether or not to become parents and how many children to have.**

Pronatalism Fades in US

Whether a conscious decision or an unwanted result, parenthood is subject to many outside influences. For most of US history, public influences on these private decisions have been pronatalist—encouraging large families and discouraging both public discussion and private use of birth control measures. Yet in the last half century four major developments have modified public policy. These are:

- the successful support by Margaret Sanger and the feminist movement for the rights of women to control their fertility,
- legal actions and Supreme Court decisions affirming the private right of individuals to practice family planning without undue interference or restriction by state or Federal laws,
- growth of direct governmental programs supporting fertility research and dissemination of family planning information and supplies to those in need; and
- the emerging consensus as reflected by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, chaired by John D. Rockefeller 3rd which in 1972 concluded:

. . . in the long run, no substantial benefits will result from further growth of the Nation's population, rather . . . the gradual stabilization of our population would contribute significantly to the Nation's ability to solve its problems. We have looked for, and have not found, any convincing economic argument for continued population growth. The health of our country does not depend on it, nor does the vitality of business nor the welfare of the average person . . . (Transmittal letter) Each one of the impacts of population growth—on the economy, resources, the environment, government, or society at large—indicates the desirability, in the short run, for a slower rate of growth. And, when we consider these together, contemplate the ever-increasing problems involved in the long run, and recognize the long lead time required to arrest growth, we must conclude that continued population growth—beyond that to which we are already committed by the legacy of the baby boom—is definitely not in the interest of promoting the quality of life in the nation. (Chapter 8)

Thus the traditional pronatalist view has been modified to reflect both the rights of the individual and the common concerns of the nation today.

Urbanization Came Slowly

The USA historically did not experience the phenomenon of rapid urbanization from rural-to-urban migration that is seen throughout the world today. From 1776, the larger towns in the original thirteen colonies grew at a rather modest pace as western migration was facilitated by national acquisition of new lands, Federal support for transcontinental railroads which opened the new lands, and Federal legislation on homesteading which gave parcels of the new lands to farmer-settlers for development. Not until the mid 19th and early 20th century did American cities begin to grow more rapidly when industrialization attracted workers from rural areas and from abroad.

Thus America changed gradually from a rural agricultural nation to an urban one, with numerous industrial and trading centers, widely scattered along coastal areas, south of the Great Lakes, and on major rivers. Except for selective interventions such as in transportation and agriculture, the processes of population distribution and urbanization were guided, not by the government, but by the economics of the market place. The system was ill prepared for the cataclysmic changes which were to strike.

The twin twentieth century scourges—massive rural-to-urban population shifts combined with rapid population growth—did not hit the United States with full force until after World War II. The migratory shifts came first. In addition to the movement to the cities which began under war mobilization in the 1940s, almost 10 million American soldiers returning from war sought homes, jobs, and mates; many chose not to return to their earlier, rural or small town environments. More importantly, the introduction of labor saving methods into agriculture—and to a lesser extent, forestry and mining—displaced hundreds of thousands of workers from rural areas. They headed for urban centers, along with many other Americans who could not find attractive jobs in smaller towns. Population shifts were further encouraged by the armaments race of the 1950s and the space program of the 1960s, as mammoth Federal Government contracts lured scientists and engineers to the elite urban engineering centers around the country. Hundreds of thousands of new college graduates whose home towns could not provide suitable employment joined in this movement. To these flows were added hundreds of thousands of rural southern blacks and other minority groups in search of greater opportunity.

The dominant migration was from the rural areas and small towns to established urban centers. This shift created congestion, overcrowding and budgetary pressures for services in the urban centers which were receiving the migrants. At the same time, it often threatened the economic viability of the rural areas and small communities which were losing the migrants.

Population Shifts to Suburbs

Simultaneously, a now-familiar pattern of counter-migration began to take form. Older urban centers lost a disproportionate share of affluent child-rearing families and their commerce to politically independent suburbs. While demands for welfare services rose in the center cities, the need for new infrastructure, education and services rose in the suburbs. The resources of state and local governments were strained to the breaking point.

On the back of these almost-revolutionary migratory shifts came the US postwar baby boom of the 1950s and 1960s. The demand for construction of houses, schools, hospitals, recreation centers, libraries and the full range of public services accelerated. The old pre-World War II system of public finance, whereby states and localities took care of their own infrastructure needs and public services, was no longer adequate. Federal ad hoc programs and policies were initiated on a massive scale even though formal political power remained with the state governments.

Federal Concerns for Urbanization

It is noteworthy that, as the United States began to stagger under the burden of these rural-to-urban and urban-to-suburban population shifts and the postwar population explosion, there was no formal national policy to guide decisions on urbanization and no recognized national interest in guiding rural-urban migration or population distribution in any way.

Traditionally and officially these were functions handled by the state and local governments and the economic market place, and the Federal government seemed willing to accept any result that these two forces might produce. A major exception was urban renewal. The Federal government became involved when the bipartisan leadership in the Congress concluded that the market

place would never eliminate slums from the nation's cities and sponsored the Housing Act of 1949. The principal other exceptions were the Federal Housing Administration's home mortgage insurance program and Federal aid to highway construction, both of which eased migration of the more affluent to the suburbs.

Not until the 1960s was the old system of state and local finance transformed by the addition of some thousand new specialized, categorical Federal aid programs, usually from the Federal government directly to the local jurisdictions, bypassing the rurally-oriented state governments. These categorical programs covered almost every facet of traditional state and local concern and added a few dozen more. Without an overall Federal strategy, each program had its own narrow goals, special requirements, and often its own implementing agencies at the local level.

The transformation was accompanied by urban riots in the late 1960s as the Federal government struggled to adjust. More extensive violence was probably averted by the presence of two factors. One was the fact that the new urban migrants were dispersed through several hundred metropolitan areas rather than being concentrated in one or two. This made it possible for the enormous numbers of migrants to be absorbed more easily in the cities. Another factor was the availability of sufficient national resources in the United States to pay for the costly and internally inconsistent potpourri of Federal categorical programs that met at least part of the urban and suburban demands and eased the nation past the storm.

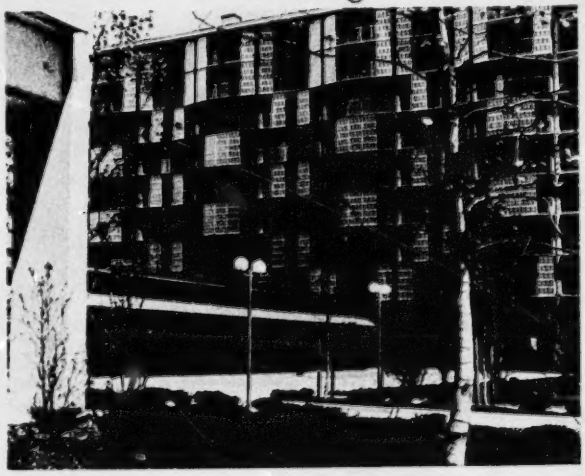
Towards a National Policy on Urbanization

To cope with this situation, in its pioneering report of 1968, the US Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, made up of representatives of Federal, state and local governments, recommended "immediate establishment of a national policy for guiding the location and character of future urbanization involving Federal, state and local governments in collaboration with the private sector of the national economy."

Shortly thereafter, Congress acknowledged in the Urban Growth and New Communities Development Act of 1970 that Federal "programs frequently conflict and result in undesirable and costly patterns of urban development which adversely affect the environment and wastefully use our national resources . . . " Congress then declared that

> . . . the Federal Government, consistent with the responsibilities of State and local government and the private sector, must assume responsibility for the development of a national urban growth policy . . .

To that end, a study process has been initiated which involves Federal agencies, other public of-



ficials, and nongovernmental organizations, all under the auspices of a Domestic Council Committee on Community Development which is chaired by the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and includes other interested Federal agencies as members.

But now this country and most other countries are moving into a new era—an era of environmental concerns, of energy constraints, diminished global food reserves, of almost uncontrolled global fertility, of inadequate capital resources for infrastructure and plant expansions, of rising expectations, and of increasing impatience with the established approaches of government.

The US Congress has declared that the Federal government must assume responsibility for developing a national urban growth policy. The task ahead in the USA is to find practical ways to adapt the traditional structure of Federalism to rapidly changing conditions and to develop community organizations that are streamlined and make more modest demands on scarce resources. HUD's Community Development Block Grant program of 1974 represents a beginning of the needed consolidation and simplification: it folds six former categorical grant programs into a single block grant administered by general purpose government at the local level.

As the US approaches the formidable policy challenge that remains, certain trends and issues emerge:

- the matter of procreation will remain a private decision. **What are the policy options for making this decision a more enlightened one, the result of responsible and deliberate choice?**
- US population will probably expand by about 50 million by the year 2000 through natural increase and legal immigration. Suitable additional communities must be created for this new population in addition to preserving and restoring today's inner cities and suburbs. **In an era of energy constraints and other pressures, what should the role of the Federal government be with regard to the patterns of urbanization and population distribution which are beginning to emerge?**
- The American population seems to be turning away from extremely large metropolitan areas in excess of two million inhabitants toward smaller urban areas and further decentralization. **Can further diseconomies of scale and social pathologies associated with very large cities be avoided? What is the role of the Federal government and the states in discouraging the creation of oversized metropolitan areas in order to avoid the problems of downward adjustment (abandonment) when citizens reject communities of such scale?**
- Some modest migrations toward lower density settlements in exurbia and even remote rural areas are beginning to emerge. **To what extent can the nation and the states afford to foster such communities and assume the higher capital costs of infrastructure and the higher operating costs of providing essential services over greater distances? Who should assume the higher costs?**
- The American "baby boom" generation of the 1950s and 1960s is now reaching the age of household formation. The kinds of dwelling units they seek and the nature, location and sizes of the communities they adopt might have an irreversible effect on population distribution in America and on economic efficiency. **How can we anticipate acceptable configurations and acceptable sizes for the urban areas of the future? How can we illuminate the nature of choice and foster new forms of metropolitan governance that provide unity and economical delivery of services? What can governments and nongovernmental organizations do to make equal opportunity an integral part of the daily life of every citizen?**

In all of the above, the size and growth rates of the national population must be balanced against the economic resources available to accommodate them. Other things being the same, the countries with slower growth rates of population have the better chance for increasing their standards of living. But the determination of proper urbanization policies remains a central challenge.

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